

# FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY IN THE PROGRAM PRINCIPLES OF THE UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PARTIES

## Streszczenie

Niniejszy artykuł zawiera analizę zagadnień polityki zagranicznej i bezpieczeństwa zawartych w manifestach wyborczych ukraińskich partii politycznych, które weszły do parlamentu po przyspieszonych wyborach w 2014 roku. Założenia polityki zagranicznej i bezpieczeństwa uzupełnione są o propozycje związane z sytuacją polityczną, społeczną i gospodarczą tego kraju.

**Słowa kluczowe:** Ukraina, wybory, manifest programowy, polityka zagraniczna i bezpieczeństwa

## Abstract

This article contains an analysis of foreign and security policy issues included in the manifestos of the Ukrainian political parties which entered the parliament after the early elections in 2014. Statements regarding foreign and security policy are supplemented by proposals relating to the political, social, and economic situation in the country.

**Keywords:** Ukraine, elections, program manifesto, foreign and security policy

The foreign and security policy of each country stems from doctrinal principles, which are shaped by national and international determinants. One essential aspect of state policies is the leading political parties' program principles that relate to foreign policy and security matters. Therefore, in this chapter the main program concepts of the Ukrainian political parties will be discussed. Also, the electoral programs of the parties which exceeded the electoral threshold in the multiple constituency voting in the early elections of 26 October 2014 and succeeded in entering the Supreme Council

of Ukraine are analyzed.<sup>1</sup> The following parties are included in the analysis: People's Front, The Petro Poroshenko Bloc, *Self-Reliance*, *The Opposition Bloc*, The Radical Party of Oleh Lyashko and the All-Ukrainian Union Batkivshchyna.

## People's Front

People's Front is a party that surprisingly won in the multiple constituency voting, getting 22.14% of the votes.<sup>2</sup> The party's campaign slogan was "European Ukraine" in its manifesto introduction, which stressed that the party's strategic mission is to build a strong independent state. It was emphasized that Ukraine must be able to independently protect itself against threats, guarantee a widely understood public security, as well as to ensure civil rights and freedoms. The party kept stressing in its manifesto the need to implement complex reforms in the country in order to achieve European standards. It was pointed out that the key to achieving this is the reforms outlined in the Association Agreement with the European Union. People's Front emphasized that implementation of this document would contribute to the success of the transformation and could act as a reference for other post-Soviet countries. It was also underlined that a successful implementation of the party's electoral program would contribute to joining within the next 20 years the group of the twenty most advanced countries (according to the Human Development Index). The reform proposals and ideas about rebuilding the country suggested by People's Front were intended to achieve the aforementioned results. The plans in the electoral programs are divided into the following thematic areas:

- security,
- political development,
- economic development,
- energy development,
- development and social support
- restoration and development of regions that have suffered as a result of Russian aggression.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> It should be emphasized that there is a mixed voting system in Ukraine: the parliament consists of 450 MPs, elected in majority (225) and proportional (225) elections.

<sup>2</sup> Відомості про підрахунок голосів виборців по загальнодержавному багатомандатному виборчому округу, <http://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2014/wp300?PT001F01=910> (access: 12.12.2017).

<sup>3</sup> Програма Політичної Партії Народний Фронт «Відновлення України», <http://nfront.org.ua/program>; Порівняння програма політичних партій, <http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2014/10/21/7041350/> (access: 12.12.2017).

In regard to security, People's Front highlighted that the most important mission is to reinstate the territorial integrity of Ukraine. It was emphasized that a priority is to oust terrorists and mercenaries from the Ukrainian territory, as well as to regain full control over the borders and strengthen them by building a new infrastructure. It was highlighted that this is necessary in order to implement the plans to revert to Euro-Atlantic integration policy as well as to amend strategic documents referring to security policy, such as the National Security Strategy and Ukraine's Military Doctrine. The manifesto also pointed to the need for changes in the structure and modernization of the armed forces.<sup>4</sup>

In terms of key missions in the political sphere, they included: bringing Ukraine closer to European standards of governance, reducing the level of corruption, decentralizing state structures, as well as developing local self-governance, whose authorities should receive appropriate funding to fulfil their roles. People's Front also emphasized the need for further reform of the political system, including a clear division of competences between the executive, legislative and judicial powers.

People's Front proposed the creation of a special body to deal with corruption, implementing obligatory individual reporting of income by politicians, judges, prosecutors, and representatives of social structures which fell under anti-corruption measures.<sup>5</sup>

As a key element of changes in the economic situation in the country, the implementation of the principles of the European Union Association Agreement was mentioned. At the same time, it was stressed that Ukraine should independently choose its priority directions of growth, which should be outlined based on geopolitical determinants as well as its own natural and social resources. It was emphasized that Ukraine has all the necessary assets to become a world leader in agriculture and food production, therefore a determined action should be taken to support that sector of the economy. The group also indicated that a priority reform should be to demonopolize the economy and reform the tax system. The party also backed market deregulation and support for small and medium-sized businesses, both of which could form the basis of economic growth.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Програма Політичної Партії Народний Фронт..., op. cit.; I. Сологуб, *Програми політичних партій: що обирати, коли не ма з чого обирати*, <http://www.unian.ua/politics/999463-programi-politichnih-partiy-scho-obirati-koli-nema-z-chogo-obirati.html> (access: 12.12.2017).

<sup>5</sup> Програма Політичної Партії Народний Фронт..., op. cit.

<sup>6</sup> Ibidem; Програма Партії «Народний Фронт»: аналіз відповідності концептуальним засадам проекту закону України «Про малі виробничі бізнес-парки», <http://sipl.com.ua/?p=3140> (access: 12.12.2017).

The matter of energy security, in contrast, was identified as one of the party's most important goals. In this regard, it was stressed that it is necessary to diversify energy sources and routes, decrease energy consumption, adjust the country's energy sector to the requirements of the EU's Third Energy Package, as well as increase usage of internal gas resources.<sup>7</sup>

In another part of the manifesto related to growth and social support, some social proposals were described that related to supporting the poorest members of society. It was stressed that, regardless of the tragic situation in which Ukraine currently exists, the country is still obliged to help the poorest people. It was highlighted that special medical, financial, and psychological assistance would be required for those who participated in the fights in the Eastern parts of the country. The party declared that the necessary cutbacks should not, however, affect support for the poorest people and municipal services.<sup>8</sup>

People's Front also announced the necessity of supporting Ukrainian culture, as well as popularizing the Ukrainian language in the public sphere. It was indicated that this should be an important part of the overall patriotic program of educating citizens and shaping their national identity. It was highlighted that it is necessary to take prompt action to rebuild the media system, which, in the party's opinion, exerts a strong impact on society by means of "hostile influences".<sup>9</sup>

In the final part of the document, People's Front referred again to the general principles of the manifesto. It was emphasized that it is realistic and that participating politicians' experience, professionalism, and involvement could guarantee its implementation. At the same time, the group stressed its willingness to cooperate with other interested parties for the benefit of Ukraine's growth.<sup>10</sup>

## Petro Poroshenko Bloc

Petro Poroshenko Bloc is a party that took the second place in the election to the Supreme Council in 2014, gaining 21.82% of the votes.<sup>11</sup> The party's manifesto introduction analysed the causes of Euromaidan. It was stated that although a direct trigger was the fact that previous authorities had withdrawn from the signing of the Association Agreement with the European Union, the circumstances of the revolution were much more complex. It was indicated

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<sup>7</sup> *Програма Політичної Партії Народний Фронт...*, op. cit.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>11</sup> *Відомості про підрахунок голосів виборців по загальнодержавному...*, op. cit.

that society had lost patience and would no longer tolerate the existing conditions. Therefore, it was emphasized that the whole country needed an in-depth reconstruction and that some changes were required in the attitudes of citizens toward the country. With regard to this, the party stressed that a clear answer to a key question should be given: How to live anew? Therefore, the electoral program of Petro Poroshenko Bloc was not divided into specific thematic issues.<sup>12</sup>

The first part of the manifesto started with a “live free” slogan. In this aspect, various matters were presented with regard to changes concerning political life, clarification on the structures of the state, as well as economic transformation. The need for increased civil power in keeping control over the government, as well as access to public information were highlighted. The ways of achieving these aims included further economic reform and implementation of a parliamentary and presidential form of governance (with government appointed by a majority coalition in parliament), complete purification of the governing structures (by early elections, both at the central and local levels), as well as carrying out a process of devolution of power by granting local governments adequate funds to execute their duties.<sup>13</sup>

In this part of the manifesto it was mentioned that it is necessary to freely use the national language and strengthen Ukrainian identity, at the same time taking into account the peculiarities and distinctiveness of regional conditions. It was stressed that Ukraine would guarantee rights to all national minorities living in its territory, and at the same time would take action to guarantee the rights of the Crimean Tatars and Ukrainians living in the Crimean Peninsula annexed by Russia.<sup>14</sup>

Petro Poroshenko Bloc also highlighted that a priority direction of foreign policy is to become a member of the European Union. It was pointed out that implementing the reforms required by the EU would act as a crucial stimulus that would lead to substantial changes in the country and adoption of European standards.<sup>15</sup>

In the next part of the manifesto, “Life in prosperity”, some proposals relating to economic matters were described including the need to implement a competitive economy, a free market, and changes in the tax system. It was indicated that the key aim of the country has to be an increase in the standard of the average citizen’s life. It was emphasized, however, that this would only be possible when the necessary reforms had been implemented. It was

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<sup>12</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>13</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>14</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>15</sup> Ibidem; І. Сологуб, *Програми політичних партій...*, op. cit.

also stressed that the country should provide social support for the poorest citizens.<sup>16</sup>

The next part of the manifesto related to a few aspects of the country's administration and judiciary. It was highlighted that the rule of law must prevail in Ukraine and be guaranteed by an independent justice system. Therefore, they indicated that it is necessary to take action toward performing a general review of the justice and armed forces sectors, strengthening public control over the process of appointing judges, overseeing their work, as well as ensuring their independence from legislative and executive powers.<sup>17</sup>

In the last part of the manifesto, Petro Poroshenko Bloc referred to the security of Ukraine, for which it indicated the need to maintain national unity against external aggression. It was highlighted that the events of 2014 showed that Ukraine should independently protect itself. Therefore, Petro Poroshenko Bloc pointed out that it should be necessary to significantly increase military spendings as well as finance other groups fighting the aggressor. It was stressed that the Ukrainian defence industry is able to meet the demands of the army and foster modernization, which would also be stimulus for the growth of the Ukrainian new technology industry.<sup>18</sup>

## All-Ukrainian Self-Reliance Association

Self-Reliance is a new group on the domestic political scene in Ukraine. In 2014 it achieved the electoral success by taking the third place, with the support of 10.97% of the voters.<sup>19</sup> The electoral program presented by Self-Reliance was a short document in which bullet points described the most important matters relating to political, economic and social life. Regarding political matters, they stressed the need to implement mechanisms ensuring effective cooperation between legislative and executive powers. They mentioned devolution of power, national administration reform, fight against corruption, and lustration.<sup>20</sup>

The next part of the manifesto contained proposals related to reforming the justice system and ensuring its independence from political nominations.

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<sup>16</sup> *Передвиборна програма партії «Блок Петра Порошенка»*, [http://solydarnist.org/?page\\_id=874](http://solydarnist.org/?page_id=874) (access: 12.12.2017).

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*; I. Сологуб, *Програми політичних партій...*, *op. cit.*

<sup>18</sup> *Передвиборна програма партії «Блок Петра Порошенка»*, *op. cit.*

<sup>19</sup> *Відомості про підрахунок голосів виборців по загальнодержавному...*, *op. cit.*

<sup>20</sup> *Передвиборна програма Політичної партії Об'єднання «Самопоміч»*, <http://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2014/WP502?pf7171=185&pt001f01=910> (access: 12.12.2017).

The last part of the manifesto referred only to economic matters, proposing reforms of the Ukrainian economy.<sup>21</sup>

It should be stressed that Self-Reliance's manifesto contained almost no proposals referring to Ukraine's foreign and security policy. As to the latter, the association only indicated that it is necessary to adopt a new military doctrine, moving away from Ukraine's non-bloc status, as well as producing and purchasing new weapons for the armed forces.<sup>22</sup>

## Opposition Bloc

Opposition Bloc is a group which can be described as a successor of the Party of Regions, given that many of the leading politicians from that party joined its ranks. In the 2014 elections, Opposition Bloc took the fourth place, gaining 9.43% of the votes.<sup>23</sup> Its electoral program was divided into three parts that referred to the key matters of "peace", "stability", and "revival". As to the first matter, it was pointed out that it is necessary to prepare a national peace plan that could create conditions under which talks and a dialogue with Ukrainian local authorities could start. In addition, an amnesty should be declared to all people, provided that they had not committed serious crimes during the conflict in Donbas.<sup>24</sup>

Opposition Bloc also indicated that there was a need to establish – with participation of the European Union, The United States and other countries acting as intermediaries – negotiations with Russia in order to restore peace in the eastern parts of Ukraine. It was also stressed that it is crucial to strengthen the defence of the country, increase soldiers' salaries, and adopt a special assistance system for families whose relatives have died or suffered due to the anti-terrorist operation in the Eastern part of Ukraine.<sup>25</sup>

Concerning foreign and security policy, it was highlighted that Ukraine should remain a neutral, non-bloc country. However, in this context the party did not clarify its attitude toward two international security institutions, i.e. the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Collective Security Treaty Organization.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>22</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>23</sup> *Відомості про підрахунок голосів виборців по загальнодержавному...*, op. cit.

<sup>24</sup> *Передвиборна програма Політичної партії «Опозиційний блок»*, <http://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2014/WP502?pf7171=199&pt001f01=910> (access: 12.12.2017); I. Сологуб, *Програми політичних партій...*, op. cit.

<sup>25</sup> *Передвиборна програма Політичної партії «Опозиційний блок»*, op. cit.

<sup>26</sup> Ibidem.

The second part of the manifesto, “stability”, referred to various aspects of the country’s performance. Constitutional changes and a process of devolution of power were proposed. It was also emphasized that it is necessary to design a plan for the rebuilding of Donbas, and to create a special ministerial position for peaceful resolution of the conflict in and restoration of the eastern parts of the country. It was also stressed that those who have lost their properties as a result of the conflict, as well as the families of those who have tragically died or suffered, should receive an adequate compensation.<sup>27</sup>

Addressing its title slogan, „revival”, the last part of Opposition Bloc’s manifesto contained proposals concerning the economic policy of Ukraine. It is worth mentioning that in this regard, it was stressed that the Association Agreement with the European Union brings negative consequences, therefore it is necessary to adopt a special program of supporting national farmers and enterprises.<sup>28</sup>

## Radical Party of Oleh Lyashko

Yet another group which entered the Supreme Council of Ukraine in 2014, with 7.44% of the vote, it was the Radical Party of Oleh Lyashko.<sup>29</sup> The program principles of this group were preceded by a description of the situation in the country at that time. It was highlighted that Ukraine was at a critical juncture, and the events of 2014 were a huge challenge. It was highlighted that during the revolution of dignity, Ukraine demonstrated to the world its wish to be a free country – the citizens had removed the “tyrant” from power, and the country had to take up the armed struggle for its freedom. It was also stressed that it was necessary to remove all traitors and fraudsters from power, and to strengthen the country’s defence. It was stated that winning the ongoing conflict in the Eastern part of the country is a prerequisite to creating a society of equal opportunities and collective prosperity in the future.<sup>30</sup>

In the next section, the manifesto was divided into specific fragments relating to various aspects of the country’s functioning. In the context of Donbas, the need to support the whole country in defence against Russia was highlighted. The creation of special partisan squads as well as a better civil defence of the cities was proposed. It was also stressed that “internal” enemies

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<sup>27</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>28</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>29</sup> *Відомості про підрахунок голосів виборців по загальнодержавному...*, op. cit.

<sup>30</sup> *Позачергові вибори Верховну раду 2014. Програма Радикальної партії Олега Ляшка*, <http://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2014/WP502?pf7171=144&pt001f01=910> (access: 12.12.2017).



of Ukraine who financed and supported separatists would be stopped and face criminal and political consequences.

In another fragment of the manifesto, the party presented wider proposals for a radical fight against corruption and ways to remove oligarchic groups from power. It was highlighted that such groups would be fined for unjustified privatization under penalty of nationalization of the respective businesses.<sup>31</sup>

The next point in the manifesto concerned political reforms and the Ukrainian system of government. In this aspect, the party called for general lustration, changes in electoral law, implementation of open voting lists, and decentralization. In another part of the manifesto it outlined changes in Ukraine's economy, proposing a package of actions aiming to improve the situation in the country, as well as implementing a special "crisis tax" for the oligarchs. It was pointed out that the European Union Association Agreement gives Ukraine a chance to strengthen its own production. They also assured that as a result of Russia's aggression towards Ukraine, the party would cancel all Ukrainian debts to the Russian Federation. Also, a demand would be issued to foreign creditors to cancel 75% of Ukraine's debts. The Radical Party claimed that state companies were stolen by the politicians and oligarchs, and the politicians had deliberately taken out loans, only to embezzle them later.<sup>32</sup>

In the last two parts of the Radical Party's electoral program, the party referred to the situation of Ukrainian villages and the need to ensure that citizens would be given social aid. In this regard, the sale of Ukrainian land to foreigners would be banned, and the illegal – in the party's opinion – land trading market would be abolished. As an alternative, a law on agricultural lease under strict oversight of the state was proposed.<sup>33</sup>

## All-Ukrainian Union Batkivshchyna

The last political group that entered the parliament in 2014, with 5.68% of the vote, was Batkivshchyna (Homeland).<sup>34</sup> It should be stressed that the political manifesto of this party is extensive in terms of foreign and security policy. In these matters, three separate parts were dedicated to the attitude towards NATO, the policy of European integration, and the conflict in the east of Ukraine. In the last case, it was emphasized that Ukraine could surrender in the form of a "disgraceful capitulation", or win. Therefore, it was indicated that the party's approach to a restoration of peace in Donbas was based on

<sup>31</sup> Ibidem; I. Сологуб, *Програми політичних партій...*, op. cit.

<sup>32</sup> *Позачергові вибори Верховну раду 2014. Програма Радикальної партії...*, op. cit.

<sup>33</sup> Ibidem; *Порівняння програма...*, op. cit.

<sup>34</sup> *Відомості про підрахунок голосів виборців по загальнодержавному...*, op. cit.

the conduct of negotiations from a position of strength. It was stressed that it is necessary to change the mechanism of peaceful talks and to return to the Geneva format, as well as to cancel the resolutions adopted by Ukraine as part of the Minsk agreement. One-sided sanctions against the Russian Federation were proposed, considering Russia as an aggressor and sponsor of terrorism; the self-proclaimed Donetsk People's Republic and Luhansk People's Republic should also be classified as terrorist entities.<sup>35</sup>

In another part of the manifesto, the party put forward proposals regarding cooperation with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. It was emphasized that NATO was not only a system of collective security, but also a community based on democracy and effective reforms. It was also highlighted that the Alliance provided a reliable protection against threats from the Russian Federation; therefore, it was declared that Ukraine would seek to join NATO. In this regard, a national referendum was proposed, as well as a resolution containing a clear plan for adjusting the Ukrainian defence sector to NATO standards.<sup>36</sup>

Regarding international matters, Batkivshchyna also stressed that during the revolution of dignity and the defence of Donbas, the Ukrainian nation fought for the right to a "European future". Therefore, it was emphasized that Ukraine had to become an inseparable part of an integrated Europe. At the same time, it was highlighted that it was necessary to ratify and immediately implement the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the European Union, as well as to strengthen cooperation with the structures of the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy. It was also indicated that special grants should be available for young people to enable them access to higher education or take internships at European universities. Batkivshchyna also stressed that all formal requirements relating to the free visa regime for travel to the EU should be met, and a clear declaration to join the European Union should be made.<sup>37</sup>

## Concluding remarks

When analysing the electoral programs of Ukrainian parties in terms of foreign and security policy, it should be stated that they are not very extensive in this matter. Some of the parties barely touched on these issues as well as on the problems of international affairs. The presented proposals mostly

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<sup>35</sup> *Передвиборна програма Всеукраїнського об'єднання «Батьківщина»*, <http://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2014/WP502?pf7171=149&pt001f01=910> (access: 12.12.2017); I. Сологуб, *Програми політичних партій...*, op. cit.

<sup>36</sup> *Передвиборна програма Всеукраїнського об'єднання «Батьківщина»*, op. cit.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*; I. Сологуб, *Програми політичних партій...*, op. cit.

concerned relations with NATO, the European Union, and Russia (perceived mainly through the prism of the conflict in Donbas). The military activity in eastern parts of Ukraine was, however, analysed by all parties and varied proposals were offered. In this context, it was also highlighted that it is necessary to increase financial expenditure on the army as well as to modernize the Ukrainian military.